

# Africa

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## SPECIAL REPORT



HARRIS & EWING

### Toast To Ghana

U. S. CONGRESSMEN Frances P. Bolton (Ohio) and Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (Mich.) salute Africa's youngest nation at Washington, D. C. party hosted by Ambassador Daniel A. Chapman in celebration of Ghana's first anniversary of independence.

**INSIDE:** Ghana's First Year: A Record of Achievement, Page 6  
Lugard's Years of Adventure, Page 14



Reprint from *The Times*, London

## WORK HALTS AT KARIBA AS RAMPAGING ZAMBEZI FLOODS DAM, DESTROYS BRIDGES

### MAIL BAG

To the Editor:

I would like to take this opportunity to make a correction in a statement which appears on page 3 of your January 1958 issue. You state that Storer College in West Virginia is the Alma Mater of Nigeria's Zik. It is correct that Mr. Azikiwe took his high school work at Storer College and also some college work. From there he transferred to Howard University and eventually, in September 1929, he transferred to Lincoln University where the A.B. degree was conferred upon him in June 1930. He also received the A.M. degree from Lincoln University in June 1932.

We would appreciate it if in future issues, if the occasion should arise, you will indicate Zik as having graduated from Lincoln.

Paul Kuehner  
Registrar,  
Lincoln University, Penna.

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**A GOVERNOR DANCES:** Sir Edward Twining, British Governor of Tanganyika, does a dance with Africans in the Lake Province during a recent visit. The Governor is making the rounds of the Trust Territory before his impending retirement.—Wide World Photo.

INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES PLAN MAJOR CONFERENCE IN ACCRA APRIL 15;DRAFT PAPER URGES INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY; HEADS OF STATE MAY ATTEND

THE EIGHT independent nations of west and northern Africa will hold an unprecedented conference in Accra, Ghana, beginning April 15 to seek out common grounds in foreign policy and map procedures for mutual understanding and assistance.

At least five heads of state have given indications that they plan to attend, according to reports reaching African diplomatic sources in Washington. The five are: President Nasser of the United Arab Republic and Prime Minister Abdullah Khalil of the Sudan, who only weeks ago came into conflict over a serious border dispute, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, President William V.S. Tubman of Liberia, and Ghana's Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah. African sources say it is "likely" these five will attend, although there has been no official confirmation so far. Delegations will also arrive from Morocco, Tunisia and Libya, but it was not known whether the chiefs of these states intend to be present.

FLOOD DAMAGE AT KARIBA

See Photo, Opposite Page

RAGING FLOOD WATERS on the Zambezi River completely submerged the Rhodesia Federation's huge Kariba Dam hydroelectric project this month, causing possibly \$2,800,000 damage and bringing construction work to a temporary halt.

The flood, largest ever recorded on the river, began to recede in mid-March and experts were hopeful permanent works at the dam site would emerge undamaged.

In a span of a few weeks, high water completely inundated the dam works and swept away the road bridge and the suspension bridge, leaving Blondin cables as the only communication between the two banks. The coffer dam, a circle of high walls built around the main dam and pumped dry so men could work on the river bed, initially kept its head 11 feet above the swollen river. But the flood waters steadily climbed the protecting walls and under the mounting water pressure the coffer dam developed a leak and the river raced in. Later, workers blew up a section of the wall to ease the growing water pressure. At its peak, water cascading over the coffer dam created a waterfall a fourth the size of Niagara.

One African drowned; another was saved by an Italian artisan who swam to the rescue.

Three specialists arrived from Europe to study the effects of the floods and re-schedule work to make up the lost time. Work on the underground power house was suspended for 10 days. Mr. Duncan Anderson, Chairman of the Federal Power Board, expressed hope that the loss of time could be regained by the end of the year. He said the permanent works at the dam site probably were not damaged, the London Times reports. Rhodesians are waiting anxiously for the waters to go down, so that a thorough investigation of the flood's effects can be made.

In the meantime, the Federal Government is seeking the cooperation of the Governments of the Union of South Africa, Belgium and Portugal in setting up a permanent office to collect and tabulate technical data about the Zambezi River. Such information would make possible a warning system for short-term hazards and a better basis for long-term planning.

Ghana's Prime Minister Nkrumah dispatched a telegram to Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky, expressing his Government's "very real sympathy" in the Kariba flooding. He said he hoped damage would be slight and work could soon be resumed. --S.A.B.

The only non-participating independent African country is South Africa, which declined an invitation and said it felt such a conference should include the European countries which have African interests.

Preliminary reports indicate that the conference may add new dimensions to Africa's participation in international affairs and produce additional challenges to European rule elsewhere on the continent. It will be the first time in African history that the independent states have come together on their own for official, high-level talks.

A possible indication of the tone of the conference is revealed in a draft memorandum formulated by the Ghanaian preparatory committee. The memorandum, a copy of which was released to Africa Special Report this month, stresses the need for encouraging mutual understanding among the participating states, safe-guarding their independence, and assisting other African states in achieving self-government.

It is the only major paper pertaining to the conference which has come to light so far. Officials say its contents are provisional and do not necessarily represent Ghana's final position at the conference.

Calling for an "African identity and personality" in international affairs, the document warns that it would be unwise "to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of European policies." Why, the paper asks, "by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rival(ry), interest, humour or caprice?" The time has come, the paper states, "for Africa to view the international situation in the light of her own interest."

The paper also suggests that in relations with the Afro-Asian nations the African states should have a "definite and collective contribution to make."

In a separate paragraph, the document says that "subversive ideologies or coups d'etat whose designs are to overthrow organized governments should be discountenanced and condemned as subversive and destructive ideologies," and calls on the participating states to "denounce these lawless and undemocratic practices."

On the African racial question, the memorandum states that "the existence of racial discrimination in any part of Africa is an offense

(Continued on Next Page)



(Continued From Preceding Page)

to the African peoples and all the independent states must concentrate their efforts to rout this evil out." Meanwhile, the "economic, political and cultural standards of the continent" must be raised "to the level that can command the respect of all other nations," the paper continues.

The Ghanaian memorandum proposes that permanent machinery be set up by the conference to work out details for implementing the decisions reached at the April meeting. The memorandum envisions a permanent organization with provisions for a prompt exchange of views "so that the 'mind' of Africa may be quickly mobilized" whenever the need arises.

The paper lays heavy stress on the need for freer trade, economic expansion and cultural and technical exchanges in order to raise the standard of living on the African continent and "relieve the sufferings of our people and bring them hope."

A three-member delegation from Ghana recently visited the other participating states to make arrangements for the April meeting. About 70 delegates are expected to attend, conference officials report.

#### PARTIES MERGE IN FRENCH AFRICA

PRESSURE for self-rule in French Black Africa is taking a dramatic new turn this month with the launching of a single, consolidated political party which will operate throughout the vast area stretching from the Algerian border down to the Belgian Congo well below the equator.

Representatives of the three major African parties and many of the minor ones are meeting in Dakar to ratify a merger of the groups which was agreed on at a conference of party leaders last month in Paris.

The new party, yet to be named, will press for a grouping of French West and French Equatorial Africa into two federations, with each having internal control over all matters except defense, diplomacy, currency, higher education and the judiciary. According to a communique issued by the party leaders, the party will further demand that these matters not be vested in France but in a "federal republic" in which France and the African states would be equal members.

The whole party leadership also agreed for the first time to a statement that the African federations would have the right to "opt for independence" if they should so wish. The new party will presumably take over the membership of the powerful Rassemblement Democratique Africain, the Convention Africain, the Mouvement Socialiste Africain and a number of smaller parties. The merged party is expected to control most of the territorial governments of French Black Africa.

► NIGERIA's Prime Minister said early this month his Government was "determined to use every means in our power to prevent the infiltration of Nigeria with Communist ideas." Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa made the statement March 3 before the Federal House of Representatives, in the course of announcing the

denial of a passport to Mrs. F.X. Ransome-Kuti, president of the Nigerian Federation of Women's Organizations.

The Prime Minister said Mrs. Ransome-Kuti had been in contact with Communist organizations since 1945 and was being denied a passport because she intended to indoctrinate 13 Nigerian women's organizations with Communist ideas. Mrs. Ransome-Kuti said she wanted to renew her passport to obtain medical treatment in London, but this was grossly inconsistent with information available to the Government, according to the Prime Minister.

► ABDULLAH KHALIL, a former Army officer with pro-Western sympathies, was chosen to continue as Premier of the Sudan March 20 following the country's first elections since the achievement of independence in January 1956. Khalil's Umma Party scored an impressive victory over the opposition National Union Party which favors closer ties with Egypt.

► THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT moved this month to proscribe the African National Congress, the country's major African political organization. Minister of Native Affairs Hendrick Verwoerd issued a proclamation March 14 giving himself the power to declare the Congress a prohibited organization. He said the measure would prevent "disturbances." Three days later the organization was banned in certain African reserves of the northern Transvaal and on March 22 all police leaves in the union were cancelled so the force would be at full strength in case of any emergency, according to Reuters news agency.

The moves followed reports that the Congress was planning strikes and protests in an attempt to discredit the ruling Nationalist Party prior to the April national elections. The Congress has issued a statement calling the Government action "a futile attempt to suppress the burning aspirations of the people."

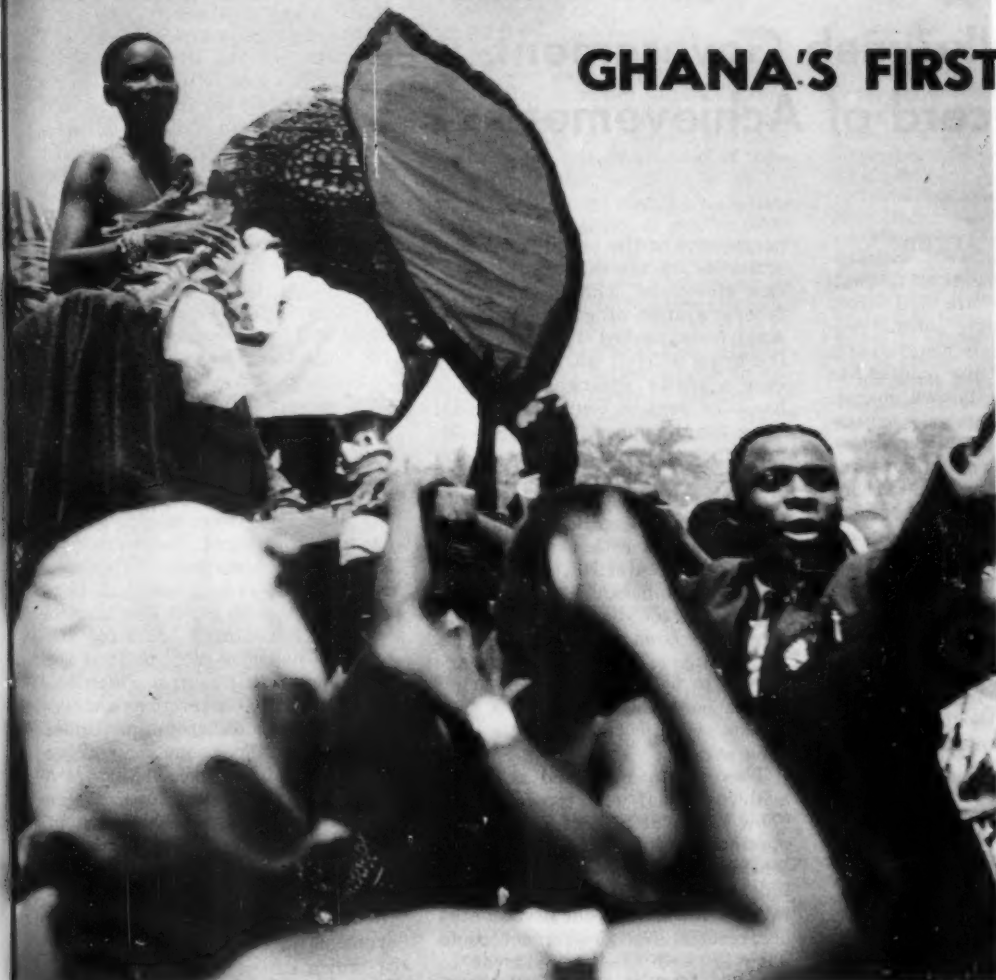
► A NEW POLITICAL PARTY is being formed in Tanganyika under the leadership of Zuberi Mtemvu, a former provincial secretary of the Tanganyika African National Union who was expelled from TANU this month after criticizing its policies as too moderate, Agence France Press reports. Mtemvu's new party, the Tanganyika African Congress, seeks immediate self-government under African rule.

In a memo criticizing TANU, Mtemvu said "A foreigner is a foreigner whether he is black, brown or white...we advocate Africa for Africans only. To those who have been waiting for extreme African nationalism we say: 'Here we are ...'" Tanganyika's first elections are scheduled for later this year. --R.C.K.

#### ETTA MOTEN BARNETT JOINS INSTITUTE BOARD

MRS. ETTA MOTEN BARNETT, lecture recitalist, has been elected to the Board of Trustees of the African-American Institute. Mrs. Moten has appeared in concert halls throughout the U. S. and South America, as well as in films and on radio networks. Through her activities in Afro-Arts Bazaar, N.Y.C., she has helped popularize African art in the U.S. Her husband is Claude A. Barnett, founder and director of the Associated Negro Press (ANP).

## GHANA'S FIRST YEAR



INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS IN ASHANTI TERRITORY—Queen Mother of Juaben is carried by her followers during 1957 festivities — Photo by Stephanie Dinkins.

**T**ORCHLIGHT processions wound past Independence Arch and fireworks exploded in the Accra sky this month as Ghana celebrated her first anniversary of independence.

One high point was the unveiling by Chief Justice Sir Arku Korsah of a bronze statue of Prime Minister Nkrumah; another was Dr. Nkrumah's garden party at Government House, where British newsmen found the African holiday mood markedly different from the studied formality of past parties held by the colonial governors.

As the gaily dressed crowds swarmed through Accra, the March 6 anniversary was marked in a number of major cities around the world. In Washington and New York, Ghana Ambassador to the U. S. Daniel Chap-

man threw on successive days two of the largest official parties ever held in the United States by an African country.

Combined attendance was near 1300 and the diplomatic guest list included Ambassadors, U. S. officials and United Nations representatives by the hundreds.

Meanwhile, Ghanaian-American relations were bolstered on several fronts in recent weeks. In February, Prime Minister Nkrumah said that President Eisenhower had offered Ghana the good offices of the United States in examining ways in which the Volta River aluminum project might be started. In early March, International Cooperation Administration officials reported that they were approv-

ing a technical assistance program that would provide Ghana with U. S. agriculture specialists within the next few months.

On March 8 came the big story:

The White House announced that President Eisenhower, in his message congratulating Ghana on her anniversary, had invited Dr. Nkrumah to visit the United States in July.

Dr. Nkrumah accepted the invitation. It will be the West African leader's first official visit to the White House and will contrast sharply with his arrival in the U. S. as a student 23 years ago, when lack of money for lodgings occasionally forced him to spend the night riding back and forth on Manhattan subways.

# The Nkrumah Government: A Record of Achievement

By DAVID APTER

The public statements of Ghanaian politicians are too often taken as if they were solemn pronouncements of their counterparts at Westminster. Ghana politics has its own flavor and its own characteristics. Its language and expression are that of nationalist politics. Like any government, that in Ghana must face criticisms for actions which violate its own high standards of parliamentary democracy. As well, the Ghana Government has a right to expect a sober understanding of its problems and its achievements.

In a previous article we discussed several of the difficulties which Ghana faces as a new country. We mentioned some of the more obvious activities of the Government, many of which have received unfortunate publicity in the world press. However, in any assessment of Ghana on her first anniversary of independence such events must be placed in perspective; the day to day running of government is always less glamorous than its more isolated and dramatic actions which are the objects of intense scrutiny.

What are some of the solid achievements of Ghana's first year? First, and of paramount importance, is the relatively smooth transition to independence and effective self-government. Among the new nations of the world, few can point to the quiet conditions found in Ghana. Indeed, there were grounds for thinking that division and trouble would plague the regime far more than actually has been the case. There are weak spots in the constitution, for example, which have left much room for tension. The powers of regional assemblies are as yet undecided. Taken in the

perspective of the pre-independence activities of the National Liberation Movement, which demanded a federal system of government and stubbornly pushed its position to the brink of civil war, controversy over a major constitutional issue has been kept in bounds. A crucial issue for the opposition is the ultimate power and position of the regional assemblies. The Government, in setting up a commission to mediate on this issue, has included more opposition than pro-Government representatives among the Ashanti members. The commission has soberly set about its work, relatively free from acrimony, on issues which only a short while ago appeared to be capable of rendering Ghana politically impotent. A dangerous constitutional crisis has been averted.

This action has been no mean achievement if one considers the "now or never" philosophy of the opposition which, after bringing tension to a peak in the final pre-independence days, sought to maintain its initiative in the first months of freedom. No government could have ignored the basic threat to security implied in this situation,

and the deportations and other disciplinary measures introduced by the Government must be taken in this context. The eventual position of the regional assemblies remains unknown, but the Government has had to consolidate its position in Ashanti and in the North as a first priority and in the face of considerable antagonism. The appointment of Regional Commissioners of ministerial rank, for example, meant putting a CPP politician into Kumasi as the most important political figure in the Ashanti area. Not only was this a departure from precedent, but the opposition in Ashanti could well have viewed this as cause for violent action.

Yet it was a necessary step, if only to establish the political inviolability of the government of the day. One cannot compare the situation with that in Great Britain, where it has been many years since the right of a government to govern has been challenged. Hence the most important achievement of the new independent government has been the assertion of territorial control which is a minimum basis for any peaceful political pattern. It is the assertion of this control which has looked to many observers as a movement toward dictatorship. Under the circumstances, one may argue that some of the measures were a bit startling, but the broad pattern has shown to the inhabitants of Ghana a restoration of security, which was temporarily marred by acts of violence between local factions, and a strengthening of Government, the tenure and authority of which can not be brought into question by extra-parliamentary means.

## CITIZENS REGISTERED

A second difficult task of government has been performed which bodes well for the parliamentary future of Ghana. One of the first acts of the Nkrumah regime was to make up a new registry of voters composed of all citizens. Ghana has an inordinately large number of immigrants: Nigerian traders in Accra, Kumasi and other large towns, as well as Hausas, Gao, Mossi, and other immigrants from British and French territories. In constituencies bordering upon foreign territories, citizenship is particularly difficult to ascertain since there has been a great deal of mobility across the frontiers and



DAVID APTER is a political scientist on the faculty of the University of Chicago and author of *The Gold Coast in Transition*. Mr. Apter's article "What's Happening in Ghana?" appeared in *Africa Special Report*, November 1957.



## Nkrumah Pledges Support In Colonial Africa's 'Struggle For Freedom'

GHANA's achievements "have proved beyond all doubts" the justice of "our claims to govern ourselves and control our own affairs," Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah told his nation this month in a radio broadcast marking the first anniversary of independence.

The head of the first African state south of the Sahara to emerge from colonial rule said it was his "fervent desire" that the example set by Ghana would assist other territories in Africa "along the road to freedom and independence."

Asserting that "one of the most important issues facing Africa in our age is whether forces of freedom can triumph over colonialism," Dr. Nkrumah expressed Ghana's determination "to do whatever we can to assist other territories of Africa that are not yet free in their struggle for freedom."

Calling for "personal and public discipline" at home, he said his Government had had to govern "firmly" in the first year and will "continue to do so within the framework of the law of Ghana."

"We are determined to preserve democratic and traditional ways of life in Ghana, but will continue to deal firmly with efforts of any unlawful elements or groups to undermine by unconstitutional means the Government or established institutions of Ghana."

Ghana has achieved a "great deal" since independence, "but much more remains to be done," he told his radio audience. "We must expand and diversify our economy" and raise the standard of living, he said. "We have continued to do everything in our power to hasten the economic emancipation of our country."

Referring to foreign policy, Dr. Nkrumah said Ghana had adhered to the independent policies which he announced on the eve of independence.

"The ordinary people of this world would be far happier," he added, "if energy and resources of great powers which are used in an attempt to conquer outer space, were directed instead toward the conquest of poverty, malnutrition, the disease and suffering which is the lot of half the population of this world."

**PRIME MINISTER NKRUMAH** leads Ghanaians across Dominase Bridge in the Western Province at its opening recently. — Ghana Information Photo.

many locally born inhabitants of Ghana are of foreign parentage, which disqualifies them from citizenship. A parliamentary regime, if it is to remain democratic, must prepare itself for a general election at any time. The opportunities for political control presented by a postponement of registration are very great. Yet in the first months after independence, the Government embarked upon its registration campaign, sending registration officers to every town and village, clarifying issues of citizenship and eligibility to vote. This was an enormous task completed in the face of many practical difficulties, not least of which was the obstructionism of local political factions. The basic mechanism of voting has been put on a firm footing—a major, if unglamorous, achievement of the Ghana government—and the significance of this to democratic government scarcely needs to be pointed out.

Hence in matters pertaining to the security of government and society, Nkrumah has much with which to be content. He has weathered the storms of open obstructionism and regional conflict which at

one time were so strong that it was physically dangerous for a CPP Minister to go to Kumasi—surely an intolerable situation for a sovereign government. He has, as well, put the voting mechanism on a firm footing long in advance of a general election. In this he has safeguarded not only the position of all political parties, but the most important instrument of representative government.

### ECONOMY PRESERVED

Third, in the economic sphere the Government came to independence with some formidable handicaps. At the time the price of cocoa, Ghana's main source of income and funds for development, was lower than it had been for several years. The Government was faced with cutbacks on its expenditures and plans for development. As well, unemployment was, for the first time since the end of the war, beginning to reach uncomfortable proportions. The political significance of independence could well have been marred by economic dislocation. In the first instance, the price of cocoa did in fact recover and the Govern-

ment was saved from a most unfortunate situation.

Unemployment remains a problem. One of the more dramatic moves by the Nkrumah Government was to establish Builders Brigades, to be based largely upon voluntary labor, for basic construction projects in the public interest. The Builders Brigades were the subject of much controversy and misunderstanding. Given the political climate in Ghana, there were charges that these would constitute CPP legions or be a kind of Hitler Youth. There are two groups of the Builders Brigades now at work on construction and housing projects: one in the North where development is sorely needed, and one in Accra where the housing shortage is very severe. They are working on top priority projects under the control of the civil service, not politicians, and are far closer to the American Civilian Conservation Corps than to any European counterpart.

In addition, there has been an attempt to engage more directly in important economic activities relating to international trade and com-

(Continued on Page 10)

## Birthday Party At the Shoreham



**AMBASSADOR DANIEL CHAPMAN** of Ghana was host at Washington, D. C.'s Shoreham Hotel March 6 as 700 guests assembled to honor the West African nation on her first anniversary of independence. Above, Ambassador and Mrs. Chapman greet Mrs. Christian Herter, wife of the U. S. Under Secretary of State.

Photos by Carlo Maggi

**GOOD WISHES FROM CAPE TO CAIRO**—Ambassador Chapman receives Ambassadors Wenzel Du Plessis of South Africa (left) and Ahmed Hussein (right) of the United Arab Republic. Major Seth Anthony, Counsellor at the Ghana Embassy, is at rear.



**SOVIET AMBASSADOR MENSHIKOV** said he knew little about Africa but found it a "very interesting area."



**MRS. PEARL MESTA**  
... the hostess is a guest





**STRIKING WEST AFRICAN DRESS** was worn by Adedokun Haastrop of the Nigeria Liaison Office and his wife Bisi. Mr. Haastrop is one of Nigeria's first foreign service trainees.



**THE FOOD TABLE**—Centerpiece is a floral replica of Independence Arch in Accra.

**PARTY ARRANGER** Lydia Zemba, Ambassador Chapman's social secretary, takes time out to chat with Nigerian student Ndem Ndem.



## A Soviet Anthropologist Visits Ghana

By CHRISTOPHER BIRD

Last fall, I. I. Potekhin, vice-director of the Institute of Ethnography of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in Moscow, went to Ghana for an extended period of field work. The visit is noteworthy in many respects, the most important of which, perhaps, is the fact that Potekhin is the first Soviet anthropologist ever to go to Africa for field-work.

Potekhin, who led a group of scientists to Egypt in 1956, is especially interested in modern political and social developments. He also seems to be a specialist on Africa. Although it is difficult to state positively, it would appear that he is one of the Institute of Ethnography's politically most trusted members. He has written articles ranging far out of the field of ethnographic studies which could more properly be described as political dogma.

It will be interesting to know what Potekhin will accomplish in Ghana, what reception he will find and what facts he will discover to change any of his previous views. For just before his departure he completed an article entitled "A New African State—Ghana" which was published in volume 3 of *Soviet Ethnography* for 1957. Some of the opinions expressed therein can be used for comparison with Potekhin's articles-to-come.

Potekhin's article, in herald-

ing the establishment of the new state, takes a final swing at Britain by declaring that statements in the British press to the effect that "independence was granted voluntarily" were "demagogic inventions." It further condemns the *Society for the Protection of Native Rights*, founded last century, as an organization of the

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MR. BIRD is a student of Russian affairs at the University of Hawaii. This article is one of a series.

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feudal hierarchy. Likewise the *West African Congress* had no inspiration "in the masses."

Potekhin cites the Representative Assembly of Ghana, organized at Accra in November 1949 by the Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) and the Congress of Trade Unions, as the first popular meeting. It is the C.P.P. rather than Kwame Nkrumah, that Potekhin praises for winning independence. After coming to power, the Party, according to Potekhin, "increased its efforts" to attain an independent state. This statement comes only three years after Potekhin wrote "but the People's Party, reflecting the interests of the powerful national bourgeoisie, did not fulfill the expectations of the masses." ("Peoples of Africa," 1954, p. 350). Whether Potekhin will see fit to continue to support the C.P.P. in his writings after his return from Ghana will depend,

no doubt, upon his assessment of its role, its strength and its staying power as a guiding force in the country.

In his discussion of the merits of a union vs. a federation, Potekhin finds federation could be supported to some extent by ethnic considerations, especially with regard to such a distinct ethnic group as the Ewe, who have "fought long and hard for the establishment of their own national state," and to the peoples of the Northern Territories.

As far as Ashanti's demands for autonomy are concerned, however, Potekhin is negative. For they are rooted not in "ethnic or nationalistic interests and ideals" but in the interests of the "feudal rulers." These latter have been able to attract to their side some of the working and peasant masses dissatisfied with the Nkrumah regime. It is for this reason that Potekhin agrees with Nkrumah's pronouncement to the effect that "what is going on in Ashanti is nothing more than a revolt of feudal leaders against the democratic course of development."

Such are parts of Potekhin's thesis. What changes will come in his thinking as a result of his field-work are difficult to guess. It is certain that they will be based not so much on Potekhin's own objective judgment as upon the interests of the Soviet State in its relations with the new African government.

### RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

(Continued from Page 7)

merce. In participation with an Israeli navigation company (ZIM), a new Black Star Line has been established, with Ghanaian ships now calling on foreign ports. Israel has helped Ghana in other respects as well: diamond distribution and sales, and the beginnings of technical assistance. Indeed, Israel has much to offer out of her own experience and the Ghana Government has, without becoming embroiled in the local politics of the Middle East, been able to look to Israel for help in tackling basic economic problems.

Fourth, an attack on basic problems of education has been launched. When the Nkrumah Government first took office it produced an accelerated plan for education which established free primary education for all. While this goal was in fact not entirely achieved, nevertheless a considerable expansion in primary education took place. This has resulted in heavy pressure upon the resources of the middle schools and secondary schools. A problem of "bulge" has appeared. Facilities for the growing number of pupils clamoring for entry into middle and secondary schools are very inadequate. Plans are being made for a dramatic increase in facilities, and

for teacher recruitment and training. A comprehensive investigation of the entire educational system (including higher education) is contemplated, in which not only will problems of facilities be examined, but also the appropriateness of the present system for the needs of Ghana.

Fifth, in foreign affairs, the Ghana Government has taken a moderate and careful exploratory position. Its course is "positive neutralism", i.e. avoiding world power blocs, but nevertheless remaining clearly in the orbit of western democratic governments. Nkrumah has indicated that Ghana's independence would not be com-

promised by dangerous entanglements. Nevertheless her position in the Commonwealth provides both protection and an autonomous role in world politics. The young men in the various Ghana Embassies and in the Ministry of External Affairs show remarkable talent and in an area in which previous training has been almost entirely lacking until just before self-government, both Government policy and personnel have shown skill and caution.

### STRONG CIVIL SERVICE

Sixth, there has been a great increase in Africanization of the civil service, while adequate safeguards for European expatriate officers who choose to remain in the Ghana Civil Service have been maintained. There are in fact 1,100 expatriate civil servants in the senior civil service, a drop of only 100 from the maximum before independence. However, 600 are on contract; that is to say, are hired for temporary periods which are renewable. Meanwhile the number of Africans has grown to 3,000, forming a well trained body of civil servants who are gradually taking over from expatriates as posts and vacancies are created. Many of these civil servants are full of ideas, they are closer to the realities of Ghana social life than were Europeans and if they possess some of the exclusive characteristics of an elite service, they possess its advantages as well in abilities, devotion to service, and in their attitudes of responsibility. Often dismayed by the political scene (a characteristic of civil servants elsewhere), they are nonetheless filled with a sense of the future. In many crucial respects the future of Ghana is in their hands, and in spite of cases of over-rapid promotion and a lack of seasoning, they represent one of the brightest aspects of Ghana's political future.

In other areas the Government has done equally well. Perhaps the ablest man in the Nkrumah Government, Mr. Gbedemah, the Minister of Finance, has been able to sound out the potential financial situation for Ghana. His trips to the World Bank and discussions with officials from the money markets of the world are of great political as well as economic significance. Meanwhile Mr. W. Arthur Lewis, the Manchester economist, has been appointed economic advisor to the Government. Lesser politicians in



CHANGING FACE of Ghana's capital, Accra, is shown in this view of the Public Library. — Government Information Photo.

Ghana have been making headlines around the world, while Gbedemah has been laying the groundwork for the future economic viability of the state.

### LOCAL REFORM

On a local level where the district and local councils have been in operation since 1951, a deteriorating situation was met with the appointment of a commission of enquiry to make recommendations regarding local government reform, including possible reamalgamation of local government units now often constituted along tribal lines. Critics have charged that such reform is simply an attempt to break down chieftaincy, but the directly political motive has been vastly exaggerated. Local government reform is a courageous and necessary step in present-day Ghana which in some ways is politically inexpedient at the present time, since it provides fresh ammunition for the opposition and inflames local and tribal feelings.

All these and many more can be counted as accomplishments of Nkrumah and his Government. They do not inspire headlines the way deportations do. They remain relatively unknown even within

Ghana, which has a small, intimate social environment more often prone to rumor than to fact, making it hard to separate gossip and politics. Western observers are often taken in, both by political gossip and by words which in the West have critical implications not present in Ghana. We forget that English as a language can be Africanized as well as Americanized.

In any realistic assessment of politics in Ghana, there have been events which are disturbing and unpleasant. They have led to misgivings on the part of many people, among the most important of whom are African nationalists in other territories. But they, like others, must recognize the ebullient characteristics of Ghanaian politics. Nkrumah, on the other hand, must recognize that Ghana is under intensive scrutiny, and that an event produced by the heat of local conditions is digested and assayed in foreign ministries, by journalists, and by men of professional ill-will as well as good-will.

On this first anniversary, the record of Nkrumah and his Ministers is one in which the people of Ghana can take some discomfort, and a great deal of pride.



## MAGAZINE RACK

"France In Africa" — The February 1958 issue of *Current History* magazine (Events Publishing Company, Philadelphia; 63 pages, 65¢) features a selection of articles devoted to the various French colonies and territories in Africa.

*FORTUNE* magazine, March 1958, features two major articles on Africa's economic growth, with color photos and graphs.



## African Placement Service

The new Air List prepared for circulation to secondary schools in Africa early in March contained the names of ten teachers who will be available by the beginning of the African academic year in January 1959.

\* \* \*

The Director of the West Africa Office, Mr. E. Jefferson Murphy, has completed a tour of Nigeria where he inspected schools and talked with headmasters. His photographs and reports will benefit American teachers ready for placement in these schools. In addition, each candidate will receive a two day briefing at the West Africa Office before proceeding to his assignment.

\* \* \*

The two American secondary school teachers who left for Western Nigeria in January (see ASR for January) are now settled and launched on their African teaching careers. Mr. William Witzel from Charlottesville, West Virginia, says in part: "all in all, I believe things are pretty good and I am happy to be at this school . . . I enjoy the work and like the students and I believe they like me." Mr. Frank Pereira from New York City has this to say: "I began teaching on Monday, January 27. After a week and three days, I can say I like it . . . I am grateful to both the Institute and the school for giving me this most desired opportunity . . . This is a chance in a lifetime."

The several teachers in Africa have indicated an interest in corresponding with other Americans who are interested in teaching in Africa and who would like to communicate directly with people in the field. Teachers so interested may write for the addresses.

For further information on the Placement Program write to Department B-12, African-American Institute, 1234-20th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. — R. J. Smyke.

## business notes

• **PRELIMINARY CONSTRUCTION** on the Kouilou Dam in the Congo area of French Equatorial Africa will begin this year, *Africa Economic Newsletter* reports, following weeks of secret negotiations on the possibility of harmonizing the Kouilou scheme with Belgian's more ambitious Inga Dam project, 200 miles away by air.

The French Government has decided to construct their Kouilou project first and is reportedly willing to assist in the construction of Inga later. Although Kouilou's power potential is greater than that of any project in Europe, it is expected that the output can be absorbed fairly rapidly so that the scheme will in effect be a "pilot project" to induce industry to the Congo basin for the much larger Inga power scheme, the Newsletter continues.



The Kouilou project is estimated to cost between \$150 million and \$200 million, according to the *Christian Science Monitor*,

and France will contribute half the amount through her "FIDES" overseas development fund. France hopes to raise the rest on the international money market and will appeal to the *World Bank* for \$75 million, the Monitor reports.

The dam will be constructed at Sounda Gorge, a narrow passage about 45 miles inland from the mouth of the Kouilou River on the Atlantic Ocean and about 60 miles from the city of Pointe Noire. The project will make Pointe Noire a major industrial center, especially for the production of aluminum and fertilizer.

• **BETHLEHEM STEEL CORPORATION**, formerly in a syndicate with the French Mining Bureau and the Banque de Paris to explore the iron ore deposits in Mekambo, Gabon Province, French West Africa, will join with these in a new mining company, the 'Societe des Mines de Fer de Mekambo' in which Bethlehem will have a 50% interest. The Mekambo deposits are among the richest known in Africa and will require an estimated investment of \$280 million over an 8 year period to reach the exploitation stage, according to *Africa Economic Newsletter*. A 440-mile railroad of extra heavy trains must be constructed to transport the ore to the coast, where a new port would be built near Owendo.

• **USSR IMPORTS** of wool from the Union of South Africa during July-November 1957 multiplied five times from the previous year, making Russia the fourth largest importer of South African wool, according to the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture. France is first, United Kingdom second. The U.S. is sixth.

• **U.S. CAPITAL** for a land clearing and development project is being sought by the Government of Southern Rhodesia, the U.S. Dept. of Commerce reports. The intergovernmental project involves 150,000 acres on Lake Kariba, of which Southern Rhodesia will clear 70,000 acres.

• **THE TWO LARGEST ROAD GRADERS** of their kind ever exported from the U.S. have been shipped to the Union of South Africa for South African Railways and Harbours, according to the *Daily Freight Record*, New York.

• **TO ATTRACT FOREIGN CAPITAL**, Libya has passed a law enabling the Minister of National Economy to set up an investment committee of six to make recommendations to him on applications received from foreign potential investors. Approval by the committee ensures certain tax and customs duty relief and free transfer of profits accruing from foreign capital investments. The new law does not apply to oil prospecting, drilling or extraction.

•AMERICAN DEPARTMENT STORES across the nation are counting on a sales pitch with an African theme to liven up the winter months. "African Holiday", a 30-minute color film, takes an American couple on safari with the products of 11 U.S. manufacturers, cosmetics to refrigerators. Back home, the products will display a label, "Tested in the Tropics". The promotion scheme was conceived by Mutual Buying Syndicate and produced for \$75,000 on a 3-month safari in East Africa and the Belgian Congo.

•IN AN AGREEMENT signed recently with a British manufacturer of electronics equipment the Union of South Africa has launched an electronics industry that is expected to produce 80%-100% of that country's electronic needs within 5-8 years, reports Export Trade & Shipper, New York.

•AN AIR MAIL EDITION of the Johannesburg Star was launched this month, printed on special lightweight paper supplied by British mills. It is the first air newspaper in the Commonwealth, outside of the U.K., and will be an exact copy of the editions sold in Johannesburg.

•TANGANYIKA recently shipped 500 tons of number one quality sisal in the first shipment of sisal to Russia since before the war.

•SEVEN TRACTORS AND GRADERS were presented to Ghana's Minister of Labor and Cooperatives by U.S. Ambassador Wilson Flake, as part of an agreement between the Ghana Government and the U.S. International Cooperation Administration.

•KENYA ACQUIRED almost 2,000 new businesses in 1957, bringing the total close to 19,000, says Africa Economic Newsletter. New banks and branches of overseas concerns helped account for the growth.

•A MONORAIL SCHEME to transport coal from the coalfields north of Lake Nyasa in Tanganyika has been devised by a Kenya architect and put before the British Government, reports the London Times. The £15 million (\$42 million) scheme involves constructing a monorail on stilts that would iron out curves and maintain a uniform level above the terrain, thus reducing distance. If Tanganyika coal justifies export, this scheme is claimed to be the cheapest export system, two-thirds the cost of the Central African railway development plan of some years ago.

•PORTUGUESE AFRICA had a very favorable balance of trade for the first nine months of 1957, during which \$29,945,000 of goods were exported to the U.S. and \$16,350,000 worth exported to Portugal itself, reports Africa South quoting U. S. statistics. Most of the products are duty free in the U.S.

•ENTHUSIASTIC CROWDS saw R.A.F. and civil aircraft put through their paces March 9, as part of the opening celebrations of Kenya's new \$7 million airport in Nairobi to which the Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, arrived by helicopter, to conduct the ceremony.

--S.A.S.

## RECENT BOOKS

*The Golden Trade of the Moors*, by E. W. Bovill, Oxford University Press (London), 281 pages, \$7. Because of many requests, Bovill has written this new version of his 25-year-old classic, *Caravans of the Old Sahara*, an outstanding account of the old civilizations of the Western Sudan, which has long been out of print.

*North and Northeast Africa: A Selected, Annotated List of Writings, 1951-1957*, compiled by Helen F. Conover, Library of Congress (Washington, D. C.), 1957; 182 pages, \$1.35. With *Africa South of the Sahara, 1951-1956*, this forms a two-volume guide to recent books, pamphlets, and articles in periodicals about Africa, and it supplements an earlier bibliography, *Introduction to Africa*, Library of Congress, 1952. Arranged alphabetically by country with breakdowns by subject.

*The Roots of Heaven*, by Romain Gary, translated from the French by Jonathan Griffin, Simon & Schuster (New York), 1957; 374 pages, \$4.50. A best-selling allegorical novel about an idealistic Frenchman crusading for the freedom of elephants in French Equatorial Africa. Half a dozen secondary characters, a misanthrope, a prostitute, an African nationalist, respond each in his own way to the hero's elephant crusade. Through them the cause of freedom assumes new dimensions, representing Man's reach for all that is noble and good.

*The Silk-Cotton Tree*, by Esther S. Warner, Doubleday & Co., Inc. (Garden City, N. Y.), 1958; 236 pages, \$3.75. A novel about a frightened and bewildered Liberian girl who found courage and hope in a missionary nurse. The American author lived four years in Liberia and has recorded her experiences in two previous books.

*The South African Treason Trial*, by Lionel Forman and E. S. Sachs, Monthly Review Press (New York); 216 pages, \$5.00. Forman is a young barrister and #83 of the 156 accused of treason by the Union of South Africa in 1956. Sachs, a leading trade unionist in South Africa for 25 years, is now living in London. Their book records the events leading to the trial.

*Yearbook & Guide to East Africa, 1958*, edited by A. Gordon-Brown, Robert Hale, Ltd. (London); 527 pages, \$3.00. Also, *Yearbook & Guide to Southern Africa, 1958*; 995 pages, \$3.00. Each contains briefs on every country and colony in the respective areas, including the history, government, customs, geography, climate, trade and commerce, hotels, transportation, and other information of use to tourists, commercial travelers and students of Africa. Together the books include 129 maps. Available in the U. S. from H. W. Wilson Co., 950 Fifth Avenue, New York 52, N. Y.



Nairobi airport

# Biography of an Adventurer

*Lugard: The Years of Adventure, 1858-1898*, by Margery Perham, London: Collins, 1956; 750 pages. 42/

By MARIE HEMPHILL

This large and ambitious book is the first volume in a projected two volume biography of Lord Lugard, taking Lugard from infancy through the year 1898, just before he was given his appointment as High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria. But the book is a great deal more than a personal biography. It is a history of Britain's part in the partition of East Africa and Nigeria by the European Powers and, most interesting to the non-specialist reader, a historical commentary on the phenomenon of British imperialism.

When Lugard first arrived in Africa in 1888, the great age of African discovery was just coming to an end, and the European "scramble" for African territory was well begun. The ten years of Lugard's life to 1898, which occupy most of this book, were spent working and campaigning, in Africa and in Britain, to complete his country's share in the partition.

These were years in which British imperial policy was confused and divided, not yet free from the influence of Gladstone and his extreme distaste for the expense of colonies, not yet prepared for Joseph Chamberlain and his forthright acceptance of the cost of the new imperialism. It is a curious and little known fact of imperial history that while Britain was acquiring her enormous African empire, her statesmen were following a dilatory policy composed largely of hesitation, evasion and delay. This was the result not of a dislike of colonies as such, but of a habit of

conservative thinking in financial affairs and a fear that new possessions would cost the taxpayer money which he could not, or should not afford. In both East and West Africa, protectorates were declared only after a long period of reluctance. That they were declared at all is due in no small part to the work of men like Lugard.

## THE CHARTERED COMPANY

As Lord Salisbury, Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary during most of the partition, remarked on one occasion, many British enterprises have been formed and sustained "rather by the action of . . . individuals . . . than by the political machinery of the State," (p. 128). Lugard was one of the individuals who worked their way across Africa and filibustered their way across England, sometimes filling in for the Government, sometimes forcing the Government's hand, always trying to realize their dreams of empire. Most of these men worked through the vehicle of the chartered company which, at the end of the nineteenth century, both acquired and administered new African possessions. During his "Years of Adventure," as this volume is subtitled, Lugard worked for no less than four companies, two of them, the East Africa Company and the Niger Company, powerful chartered companies.

Miss Perham takes both Lugard and Britain through their formative years in Africa, from inexperience and indecisiveness to maturity and full colonial rule. Her story is long and full, and touches upon most of tropical Africa, from Lake Nyasa, where Lugard fought the slave-traders, to Uganda, where he tried to stabilize the faction and intrigue-ridden Baganda society and developed his controversial system of "indirect rule," to Nigeria, where he entered a race with a French agent for the signature and sovereignty of the Sultan of Borgu. After a brief excursion to Bechuanaland, he returned to Nigeria, where he organized the West Africa Frontier Force and made another attempt to check France on the Niger. Between journeys Lugard was busy in England, writing and speaking, exerting a powerful in-



LUGARD, from a cartoon by Spy in "Vanity Fair," 1895.

fluence towards Britain's final commitment in Africa. He pleaded for British action in Nyasaland; he roused public opinion all over the country for the retention of Uganda; he helped argue Britain's case against France in Nigeria. His energy and power for work were incredible. By 1898—the end of the book—Britain's African empire was nearly complete, and the impetuous, stubborn, brilliant young Lugard had grown into the man who was to become Governor-General of Nigeria, Governor of Hong Kong, trusted advisor to administrators and statesmen.

The story of Lugard's relations with other prominent imperialists in and out of Government is an important part of this book. First there is Lord Salisbury, who would



MRS. MARIE DE KIEWIET HEMPHILL was graduated from Swarthmore College and received her Ph.D. in African studies at the University of London where Miss Perham was one of her thesis examiners. Mrs. Hemphill now lives in Williamsburg, Virginia.



be better recognized as the imperialist he undoubtedly was but for the fact that, in order to get his own way, he learned to express imperialism in the language of conservatism and to justify spending in terms of economy. Lugard called him "a great Unapproachable" (p. 555) and did not really understand him as, perhaps, Salisbury did not really appreciate Lugard. Then there is Goldie, the founder of the Niger Company, who managed to fuse vision and practical reality into something close to genius, and was not afraid to argue with the Government. He was Lugard's employer, patron and trusted friend. Flora Shaw, colonial editor of *The Times*, supported Lugard's work in her influential columns and later married him. Chamberlain, who hardly needs describing, was Lugard's most important ally in the Government. There are others: among them Rhodes, the cosmopolitan Johnston who was pushed ahead into more than one post Lugard "longed" to fill (p. 158) and the pitiful Mackinnon, founder of the short-lived East Africa Company. In describing these men and their dealings with one another, Miss Perham tells a great deal about how many important British decisions on Africa were made.

#### FOUGHT SLAVE TRADE

A part of this book's purpose is to understand and to explain the character and motives of an imperialist. In this sense the subject is topical as well as historical. To a generation which is discarding the ideal for which Lugard lived, which looks upon the whole concept of the "white man's burden" as a ludicrous hypocrisy, it is strange to be reminded that to many sincere and devoted men, imperialism was once as honorable a cause as independence is today. Though Britain's reasons for wanting to acquire new overseas empire were by no means all unselfish, there were few men at the time who had the slightest doubt that annexation would serve the best interest of the African. To Lugard this was "self-evident" (p. 545); he and others like him "had no doubt that the greatest conceivable good for this unhappy continent was for it to come under the rule of civilized powers," (p. 712). Lugard saw an Africa full of "poverty, ignorance and of remediable cruelties" (p. 712)—of which by far the worst was the terrible slave trade.

*Lugard spurred British annexations in Africa when "Imperialism" was an honorable cause and its advantages for Africa were "self-evident."*

Lugard came to love Africa. Just before he left for his first trip to Nigeria, he wrote with characteristic passion, "my life is pledged to Africa... my destiny is Africa..." (p. 476). Miss Perham shares enough of Lugard's enthusiasm to make this a fascinating travel book as well as a history and a biography. Her descriptions of the country and of Lugard's journeys through it are by all odds the best in the book; it is a pity there are not more of them. She speaks of the strange mixture in Africa of "beauty and malice" (p. 100); she tells of the expedition to Bechuanaland with "sand and mules, rinderpest and locusts" (p. 604); she describes the coming of the rains in the Kalahari desert:

In the middle of November the rains broke at last. Africa does not take long to respond to their coming... Within a few days the khaki-coloured sand, all dust and dead sticks, was throwing up a carpet of lilies. The vleys filled and, a little more slowly, grass came. But there is often treachery as well as harshness in Africa's nature, and the longed-for rains brought sickness to men and animals. Mules, horses and goats died and only the patient little donkeys stood up to the conditions. (p. 597)

This book is exhaustive; it will not bear a quick scanning. It is long—the text runs to 713 pages—and extremely detailed. Miss Perham has brought to her subject the experience of years of writing and speaking on Africa and Africa's problems, past and present. She is respected for her books on African history and government and for her newspaper articles and broadcast talks on current African affairs. She is known, even by those who disagree with her views, for her unusual open-mindedness and fairness and for her willingness to change her opinions on such issues as self-rule in Africa as time changes the circumstances which formed them. She is particularly well qualified to write the present book since, during the latter years of his life, she and Lugard were friends.

It seems presumptuous and unfair to criticize on artistic grounds a book of such magnitude, the product of so much work and devotion, but it should at least be noted that a more economical use of detail might have been more effective and no less definitive. There are individual chapters which are well and tightly woven—notably the first chapter on the Niger which, if put in paperbacks, would sell as an adventure story—but on the whole, the inclusion of so much detail gives an effect of somewhat loose and discursive construction. The passages of interpretation and reflection tend to be hidden away, buried among masses of less valuable information. There is all the more reason to wonder at the necessity for this, since Lugard's diaries are to be published before long.

There is, however, nothing in the least turgid or tiresome about Miss Perham's writing. The narrative runs smoothly along, and if it lacks the pace and proportion of truly great history, it compensates with simplicity of expression and beautiful clarity. Miss Perham must have labored for years to master her fine technique of direct, almost personal communication with her readers. While most books written by African historians can be understood and appreciated only by other African historians, Margery Perham's *Lugard* can be understood by anyone who knows how to read.

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**T**HESE bronze works were among seven recently unearthed at Ife, Western Nigeria, in the most important find in the area since 1938. Experts believe the figures, discovered by workmen, date back to the civilization of the ancient Yorubas, which flowered in the 12th century long before the arrival of the white man. At left is a 19 inch figure of the Oni (chief) of Ife, dressed in coronation regalia of the same type as is used today. Above, a man and woman in royal attire. The head of the male figure was broken during digging.

ARROW

SPECIAL REPORT